

Executive Order
65-13241
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14 MAR 1962

Mr. Ralph A. Dungan /
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

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Dear Mr. Dungan:

Knowing of your interest and experience in the field of youth and student affairs, I am attaching an analysis by a member of my staff, [redacted] whom I believe you know.

The incidents which occurred during the Attorney General's trip dramatize again the extent of communist activity in this field, and it may well be that an increased and better coordinated counter-offensive is needed.

I have also sent a copy of this paper to the Attorney General for his information.

Sincerely,

John A. McCone
Director

1 Enclosure

Signature Recommended:
(Prepared at DD/P request
See DD/P memo attached)
Deputy Director (Plans)

DDP/IO:CMeyer/mc (5 March 62)

[redacted]
C/IO Division

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The comments which follow have been stimulated by President Kennedy's remarks at his press conference of 21 February on the attitudes of students and by reflection on this problem and experience in dealing with it over the past several years.

Responding to a reporter's question about "hostility" shown to the Attorney General during several stops on his recent visit to the Far East, the President, avoiding the word "hostility," said that "this is one of the most serious and, I think, in many ways stimulating problems we face--how to tell our story in a way that makes it new and exciting to young students and also have them examine objectively under the light of present circumstances the serious failures of the Marxist system...I think that is our job..."

PROPOSAL:

1. This paper proposes that a special task force on students and youth be created, operating with a specific Presidential mandate and centered in the Department of State, to study the problem set forth by the President.
2. The task force could be headed by a private citizen well acquainted with educational and student affairs and should call upon both governmental and non-governmental organizations for its operatives.
3. Its objectives should be to prepare, by 30 June 1962, a comprehensive, well articulated, concrete, carefully targeted program of coordinated action in the youth and student field, calling upon both governmental and private resources for specific and well delineated activities.
4. This program should include both long-term and short-term remedial action designed to correct the distorted picture of the U.S. held by too large a number of the leaders of student life abroad and to deflect them from their current drift toward a pro-Communist neutralism under the aegis of the instruments of international Communism.
5. It should also establish the frame of reference for an office of youth and student affairs in the Department of State to coordinate and, in some instances, implement the program.

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DISCUSSION:

In addition to the President's remarks, the following considerations underlie the above proposal:

1. The Attorney General's meetings with Japanese and Indonesian students, which prompted the reporter's question, constitute a reminder that in 1960 and 1961 we witnessed the accession to power in many uncommitted areas of young men who not long ago were leaders or active members of student and youth movements. Moreover, the prominent role played by students in decisive or critical political developments in Turkey, Japan, Cuba, Korea, Venezuela, and the Congo are well known. These developments have forcefully underscored both the importance of youth and student leaders and organizations abroad in relation to U.S. foreign policy and the intense and continuing Communist threat in this field. It is evident that here, as in other functional areas, the Communists aim is to control student and youth organizations and use them as instruments of social and political agitation for the purpose of undermining existing governments and developing cadres capable of seizing political power.

2. There is a consistent, articulated, centrally directed Communist political operation of worldwide proportions directed at all functional groups in all countries. The geographic areas which command the highest priority in this offensive are the underdeveloped areas (Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East); the functional area commanding the highest priority is youth--students, workers, and peasants. Numerically small, but strategically strong Communist parties, with their witting and unwitting nationalist collaborators, are exploiting the opportunities which exist among these key target groups; but they are no more than a part of the international Communist program.

3. That this is a problem of continuing and widespread concern is attested to by, among other things, the fact that the North Atlantic Council has created an Ad Hoc Study Group on the Communist offensive in the youth field, which held its first (secret) meeting October 2-5, 1961, at NATO headquarters in Paris. To this meeting the Department of State sent three representatives and submitted over fifty pages of closely written, documented material describing and evaluating the Communist offensive against youth in the non-Communist world, particularly in the underdeveloped areas. (NATO Confidential Documents AC/201 (B)-D/6, 7, and 11) These documents outline the apparatus of the Communist offensive; the structure and functioning of the Communist international

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youth fronts (World Federation of Democratic Youth--WFDY; and International Union of Students--IUS); the activities of other Communist institutions; and the role of exchanges and scholarships, ad hoc fronts like the Stockholm Peace Appeal, institutions like Peoples' Friendship University and other such educational facilities in the Bloc, regional groups, and special events like the World Youth Festivals. Activities directed at youth have been accorded a high priority by the Communists since the days of Lenin; a recent exhortation to the party militants (World Marxist Review, May, 1961) puts it this way:

"The Communist Parties devote close attention to the students who are playing a growing role in the emancipation struggle of the working people, particularly in the underdeveloped countries... They draw attention, too, to the favorable conditions which now exist for work among the students... Daily experience brings the students to the realization that they can find their place in society only when an end has been put to the capitalist system, which dooms them to difficulties in search of work and leads to the stagnation of science and culture."

4. This extensive, dynamic, and relatively effective Communist offensive, however, takes place in the circumstances of history and is essentially opportunistic, rather than inexorably determined. There are certain characteristics, for instance, of student life and of youth and student organizations which have almost universal geographic relevance--idealism, immaturity, recklessness, intellectual curiosity, rebellion, generosity. The Communists have, partly by our default, taken advantage of the particular forms these characteristics take in the underdeveloped areas and exploited them for their advantage and against us. Students are impulsive, militant, political activists with the capacity as an organized group to intimidate the government in these areas, to influence policies, and to be manipulated by capable and unscrupulous adult politicians. They are also nationalistic, uninhibited by traditional or conventional pressures, frequently irresponsible (having perhaps little to lose), rash, ignorant, and susceptible. Where the system of higher education is centralized, as it is in most countries other than the U.S., students can be a powerful lobby, since, in addition to the qualities listed above, they frequently have a stronger than usual sense of class (or professional) responsibility and solidarity. The inadequacy of facilities for higher education in many of these areas adds to their bitterness and frustration or drives them to the metropolitan universities in the former mother countries where they come under Communist

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influence, or to the Sino-Soviet Bloc universities.

5. Moreover, the student problem cannot be viewed in isolation; it is linked with many underlying economic, social, and political problems on which Communism feeds--illiteracy, poverty, sickness, economic chaos and dependence, authoritarian and opportunistic political systems and leaders, injustices of all kinds. The amalgam of these critical problems, the impatient inexperience of the students, and Communist manipulation constitutes a very serious threat to democratic growth in the underdeveloped areas. Even in the most diverse situations it is becoming almost a truism to point out that it is not student demonstrations which cause difficult national situations; rather it is difficult national situations which give rise to student demonstrations. In Turkey in 1960, for example, the students demonstrated, without significant Communist participation, against what they considered an intolerably despotic and corrupt government; in Japan in the same year the students' deep antipathy toward war, bitter memories of atomic destruction, and resentment against the government were converted by a sizable, well-organized, and fanatic Communist minority into riots against law and order. From these divergent circumstances came similar action. What all this means is that remedial programs will have to take effect not only in the realm of education and student life, but in broader economic, social, and political fields as well.

6. The predominant attitude toward the issue of Communism among students in underdeveloped areas is that it is an extraneous issue injected mainly by the U.S. to enlist the have-not countries in an anti-Communist crusade which is irrelevant to them and which protects the status quo of the wealthy and selfish U.S. at the expense of their own progress. The student elite in the underdeveloped areas believes itself firmly devoted to peace; the easy Communist propaganda solutions for problems of peace and disarmament are more appealing than the guarded, complex, and often unconvincing Western plans. When the vigor of the Communist peace campaign is combined with the revolutionary zeal for change manifested by underdeveloped-area students, and the U.S., because of its alliances, its emphasis on gradual and evolutionary change, and its devotion to certain principles which must be understood in a very complex frame of reference, appears to oppose both peace and change, the best that can be hoped for is an attitude of neutrality on the part of the student leadership in underdeveloped countries. This neutrality will not usually be weighted in our favor.

7. Although the incidents which gave rise to the President's remarks occurred in the Far East, it is in Latin America that the situation we are

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describing is most threatening. Students generally wield a disproportionate influence over national policies there, partly because governments are reluctant to use their available force against student violence and partly because the universities and their physical plants generally retain a unique traditional sanctity from governmental control and police jurisdiction. Although the majority of the national student federations in the twenty Latin American countries are not under outright Communist control, practically all of the major ones are heavily penetrated and influenced by well-organized Communist minorities often consisting of the most dynamic and promising young Communist leaders. Communist success with the student class is largely attributable to the strong Latin American student sympathies for radical ideologies and reform panaceas; a pronounced, traditional tendency of students to engage in national politics; and the extreme chauvinistic feelings generally prevalent among Latin American students--feelings which are readily played upon to promote anti-U.S. sentiments.

Even without this stimulus an alarming number of Latin American students regard the U.S. with suspicion and distrust. Our preponderant power serves as an object of resentment and jealousy; our policy of non-intervention and our military assistance programs are often viewed as support for the status quo and preference for dictators and oligarchies; the U.S. is a convenient whipping boy which ultra-nationalist demagogues, including student leaders, use to distract attention from their own shortcomings and from injustices whose roots lie within the structure and policies of their own country or class. The past use of U.S. military force in the area, indirect "intervention" in more recent times (Guatemala, Cuba), U.S. support for Latin American dictators (Duvalier, Stroessner, Trujillo) and aid to Latin American military forces, and the role, actual or alleged, of U.S. business in conflicts between U.S. and Latin American economic interests, are accentuated by the sharply different cultural backgrounds and a still very difficult communication problem.

8. Primarily in Latin America, too, the Communist program is making greater headway among secondary, and even primary school students. This is assisted strongly and effectively by the school-teachers, who have long been a target for Communist infiltration and indoctrination. That it is not a phenomenon confined entirely to Latin America, however, is attested to by the recent history of the highly volatile and influential Japan Teachers' Union.

9. Not all foreign students study in their own countries: nearly 55,000 are studying this year in the U.S., of whom over 30,000 are from

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underdeveloped areas; there are over 20,000 students from Asia, Africa, and Latin America in Western Europe--largely in Britain and France, but with increasing numbers in Germany, Austria, and Italy. In the academic year 1960-61 approximately 3800 non-bloc students were enrolled in non-technical courses at universities in the Sino-Soviet bloc, an increase of 50% over 1959-60; of these 96% were from underdeveloped areas. The figure appears to be sharply on the increase: e.g., 3,000 Ghanaian and 2-3,000 Cuban scholarships, for both academic and technical training, were announced for 1961-62. All of these, for varying reasons, are worthy of closer attention and more action than they have received heretofore:

a. Those in the U.S. will be going back to positions of community, and perhaps political, leadership; their attitudes will strongly reflect what they learn and experience here. The special problems of the Africans have engendered considerable discussion and have generated appeals by both the State Department and private organizations for public support for a program of hospitality and assistance. The aim of such activity should be to improve foreign student attitudes toward the U.S. by improving the handling of these students by U.S. groups and communities.

b. Those in Western Europe are even more likely, if previous patterns hold, to wield political leadership upon their return; nearly all the French and British African political leaders received their university education, if not secondary schooling, in the metropole. These students for many years have been prime targets of metropolitan Communist parties and international Communist fronts, which have been successfully cultivating them; they often return to their home countries not only favorably disposed to Communist solutions for their problems and antagonistic toward the U.S., but also softened up for further Communist and bloc approaches.

c. Underdeveloped-area students at Sino-Soviet bloc universities constitute a quite different kind of target, because of the steady trickle of the disenchanted out of the bloc and into the Free World in search of more useful and congenial study. Policy in the past has been to respond to, but not to encourage approaches by such individuals to U.S. installations. Recently, however, Foreign Service Despatch #683 from Moscow, dated 1 February 1962, suggests that this policy be subjected to fresh consideration and that earlier proposals for a way station in Europe for the better disenchanted students (Africans, in this instance) be reviewed. Apart from the substantive merits of the case, there is a distinct propaganda gain to be made.

10. The goals of programs in this area must be clear, uncompromising, affirmative, and realistically political; bold but not rash, cautious but not timid, neither overly aggressive nor negatively anti-Communist. The objective is to maximize the effective impact of U.S. foreign policy on the

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social infra-structure and the young political elites of every country in the world, but particularly the newly independent and developing countries; to assist these social, political, and economic elites to pursue policies consonant with their own and with our national interest; and to reduce the effect of competitive Communist efforts in these fields. This is the essence of the Cold War. Although we need not state it so bluntly in public, our goal is not to coexist peacefully any more than the Communists' is; it is to frustrate and destroy totally and permanently, but without military conflict, the Communist mechanisms and thrust in these functional fields. The special character and complexity of activities in the youth and student field require close coordination and particular care. Moreover, our experience with youth and student organizations shows that persons gain access to and influence over top leadership only when they have some concrete gain to offer that leadership; personality and "positive thinking" have little to do with it.

11. The Communist offensive in the youth and student field has not gone either unnoticed or unchallenged by either governmental and non-governmental groups. The world of international youth and student organizations is one of the most complicated and heavily burdened with organizational initials; aside from the recognizable Communist fronts, the vast majority of these non-Communist groups cannot afford for political reasons, to be militantly anti-Communist, although their programs, if well conceived, judiciously implemented, and carefully coordinated, are effectively anti-Communist in a competitive sense. In the U.S. itself there is a plethora of organizations and programs of and for foreign students and youth--service organizations, religious groups, general-purpose organizations like the USNSA and the YAC, institutes like GAI, AAI, and IIE, and programs, especially of student exchange, sponsored and/or administered by the large philanthropic foundations. Moreover, there are governmental programs and private organizations which send the cream of the crop of qualified young Americans to the underdeveloped areas. Such groups and programs already embrace thousands of Americans on scholarships, fellowships, training grants, special tours, surveys, sabbaticals, field assignments for business concerns and professional groups, Peace Corps Volunteers, etc. Although there would be some resistance, the opportunity for coordinating many of these activities with U.S. Government programs exists.

12. Many elements of the U.S. Government have been conducting programs in the student field for many years; many could undertake programs which would have considerable impact on the problem under discussion. The survey proposed would examine these programs in depth and suggest changes, improvements, coordination, and new ideas:

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a. The exchange programs administered by the Department of State under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts are an important vehicle for coming to grips with this problem. There have also been several suggestions that a senior Foreign Service officer should be appointed special assistant for youth affairs in the office of the Undersecretary; an office with a similar title exists in the Cultural Bureau, and a special initiative on the Latin American student problem has just been undertaken by the Deputy Undersecretary for Political Affairs (Department of State Instruction #CW 6547 of 16 February 1962). The Department's consideration of the problem of the disenchanted students in the Sino-Soviet bloc has already been mentioned, together with the participation in NATO studies of the Communist offensive among youth.

b. USIA has inaugurated a student-affairs officer program which has so far selected and trained several recent college graduates for two-year tours in Latin American posts where they will work "autonomously," from the bi-national centers, with Latin American students. USIA is also anxious, and should be able, to produce and distribute magazine articles, brochures, books, movies, and other media coverage on student life in the U. S. and other matters of interest to foreign students.

c. In addition to its Participant Training program, which is an outgrowth of the Technical Assistance program, AID is in a position to contribute heavily to the improvement of the physical plant of universities and colleges in the underdeveloped areas, to teacher training and language training, and--along with the Department of State and private agencies--to hospitality programs for foreign students and trainees in the U.S.

d. Peace Corps programs are, almost by definition, squarely in this problem area; these programs should be coordinated with the government-wide effort, since the PCV's are generally in this age bracket and many of them are teaching or handling technical training projects. ^{25X1} Returning PCV's should also be utilized in various aspects of the program.

f. The Department of Defense is actually responsible for more youth and student exchanges than all other government agencies combined--nearly all of them military cadets or young officer trainees of various types and specialties. Since in many countries in the underdeveloped areas the armed forces constitute one of the few organized elites, the handling

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of these exchanges should come in for some scrutiny in the context of this proposed survey.

g. There are probably other elements of the U.S. Government, such as the Departments of Labor and HEW which have, or could have, considerable effect in an overall program.

CONCLUSION:

In the course of his remarks at the press conference the President went on to make several other points which should be included in the frame of reference of the eventual program in this field: a) The hostile students are ignorant of the true situation (especially socio-economic) of the U.S. and also of Marxism as it has been embodied in the Communist state; b) In many of the newly independent countries the Communists led or strongly participated in revolts and were therefore believed about the U.S. and the USSR, even when they did not achieve power or other influence; c) Building on existing resentments, the Communists have stimulated and further distorted these views everywhere. The implication of these remarks is that the root causes of the bitterness of these students toward the U.S. and the main obstacles to an effective program among them to change this image are ignorance, the legacy of colonialism, and malicious Communist exploitation of both. However, ignorance can be dispelled, the course of history can be altered toward a future of freedom, and malice can be overcome.

It is our belief that the actions suggested above would constitute a significant step forward in the continuing effort to combat the Communist offensive against youth, and especially students, in the developing areas and to seize the initiative in assisting the latter to work concretely and effectively toward a humane and democratic future. Moreover, as these programs mature, they can be expected to generate further opportunities to achieve the desired objective of just, peaceful, and progressive national development in the emergent countries.